604 The paternal uncle may marry his sister-in-law. He has the
429 same rights over his nephews and the same obligations to them as their father. If the widow marries a stranger (umwinjila), the latter becomes the guardian of the children, but as a rule he has not much authority. And if he does not fulfill his obligations, he may be driven out by the paternal uncle and has to go away empty-handed.

Similarly, if the uncle who is guardian does not fulfill his obligations, the children may complain to their father's patron, or, if they have no cattle, to the hill chief. When they have grown up, they may even drive out the unworthy guardian.

Only through marriage do the sons gain independence unless previously they have freed themselves with violence from the guardian's authority.

593 Nevertheless, even when they are emancipated by marriage, male children are not freed of their obligations to their parents (1).

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p.60.

[39] CHAPTER VII. MAJORITY AND INTERDICTION

● [881] In Ruanda there is no initiation ceremony to mark the entrance
885 of boys into social life any more than there are age classes. But when a young man has become ingaragu, his father then looks upon him as a man; he speaks to him of cattle and crops, allows him to share his meal, and sends him in his place to the patron to pay homage, etc.

732 Lunatics (abasazi), the dumb (ibirazi) and the deaf (ibipfamatwi) move around freely and, except for the first, may marry.

593 The property of a spendthrift (ikarara, lit., half mad, exalted) is managed by his parents.

As for the bad son who is disobedient and insolent, he can be cursed by his father (igitshibwa or ikivume).

561 CHAPTER VIII. TABLE INDICATING THE NAMES USED TO DESIGNATE THE DIFFERENT AGES OF LIFE (1)

1. The age given in years is obviously

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered
[171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the
[826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how-
•881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In
304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had
561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

567 kind of service. They could not be sold and might leave service and marry when they wished.

(3) Slaves who had been purchased or captured during wars or raids. These were also women and were seldom sold; when once a slave entered a family she remained there for life. Such slaves were often taken by their owners to wife, and their sons were regarded as legitimate and might inherit property.

CHAPTER XXXI

MARRIAGE, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

Forbidden relationships—initiation—arranging marriages—marriage ceremonies—taking home a bride—polygamy—entertainment of visitors—treatment of illness—death—burial—mourning—the heir—the widows

582 MARRIAGE between the descendants of a brother and sister was forbidden until they reached the fourth generation, that is, the great-grandchildren of a brother and sister might marry.

● [881] There were no initiation ceremonies, but before the sons of princes or chiefs were considered to be of marriageable age, they had to prove that they were capable of settling some quarrel or lawsuit between men. The chief instruction given [869] to a youth was how to manage cattle, but he was also taught to cultivate the land.

584 Infant betrothals were common, and the parents of a boy might agree with those of a baby girl for their children to marry when of a suitable age. The boy's parents gave the others a cow as a pledge of the betrothal, and as long as they kept the cow the engagement was binding. If, however, the parents of the girl discovered any cause for breaking the pledge, they returned the cow with a message that the engagement was at an end. When a boy thus engaged came to a reasonable age, he was told of the arrangement and took presents of beer to his prospective father-in-law. When a boy

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Role	Term of address	Term of reference
VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren		
SoSoSo	Mwana	Muzukuruza
SoSoDa	Mwana	Muzukuruza
IX. The other generations under		
Descendant		Ubuvivi[11]

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1941, pp. 11-16.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature